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IS THERE A NECESSITY

FOR A

PROHIBITION PARTY?

BY

JAMES BLACK, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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IS THERE A NECESSITY FOR A PROHIBITION PARTY?

BY JAMES BLACK, ESQ., OF PENNSYLVANIA

The affirmative of this question is sustained, and the necessity for a political party, national and State, founded on the principle and policy of the legal prohibition and suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, is apparent from many and weighty considerations drawn from the experience of the past, the necessities of the present, and the demands for protection to the moral, physical, pecuniary, and political interests of the people in the future.

I. THE BASIS OF THE POLICY OF PROHIBITION

of the liquor-traffic is found not alone in the moral considerations involved, which of themselves furnish full justification of this policy, but from the established and conceded fact that the traffic in alcoholic liquors has always been and is everywhere the source or cause of crime, pauperism, disturbance of the peace, insecurity of life and property, breaking up of homes and separation of families, hindrances to education, bankruptcies and losses in trade, causing one-half and more of our burdensome taxation, corruption in politics and legislation, degeneration of the moral and physical powers of citizens, loss of health and wealth, promotion of idleness and vice, and many other public injuries to the body politic, threatening the perpetuity of our free government. These injuries to the common weal have been established by frequent legislative investigations, the official reports of prisons, asylums, and reformatory institutions, the experience of courts and police magistrates, so that they are current history, unchanged by climate or government.

The annual loss to the productive industry of the United States from this traffic and these results, direct and indirect,

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is not less than \$1,500,000,000. These evils having their spring and flow in immoral and impolitic license laws, their correction involves a change in public policy, and presents a political question of greater moral, political, pecuniary, and social importance than any and all others before the country.

II. EFFORTS FOR CORRECTION.

The lessening of the evils occasioned by the free and open trade in intoxicating liquors first led to governmental interference by laws restraining and regulating the trade, by licensing certain numbers of persons of assumed moral qualifications; but their continued presence in the mother country and during our Colonial and State history, under the operation of laws passed in the most enlightened period of the world, conclusively proves their failure and inherent disqualification to protect the public peace and welfare. The statutes of Great Britain and the older States of the Union show a greater number of laws passed on the liquor question than upon any other one subject; and their inefficiency has written the condemnation of the policy of license.

III. NATIONAL COMPLICITY IN THE LICENSE POLICY.

The Government of the United States by law admits and levies customs duties upon the importation of distilled and fermented liquors of all kinds. It prescribes by law the methods and conditions for the manufacture and sale of domestic distilled and fermented liquors, and levies a tax upon their production. The internal revenue returns for 1874 show 175,965 wholesale and retail liquor-dealers holding a certificate of license from the United States, some in States where the law forbids such trade; and these certificates of authority from the Government of the nation furnish a claimed justification for violation and resistance to such laws.

In the District of Columbia, governed directly by the laws of Congress, 1,575 dealers in liquor pay their license (blood) money directly into the treasury of the United

States. The people, through Congress, have authorized the traffic in each of the Territories organized under the laws made by Congress; thus stamping this injurious liquor business upon the infancy of future States.

Supporting, endorsing, and licensing the liquor-business is the legislative policy of the nation. Government and law are arrayed on the side of license or permission, and not of prohibition. To change this policy is a national political question.

IV. THE PEOPLE ARE OPPOSED TO THE LICENSE POLICY.

This license policy is contrary to the present sense and wish of the people.

Fifty years of investigation and discussion of the temperance question have changed the opinions of the people on the proper policy to be pursued by the state in the liquor question. License laws once supposed to be proper are now regarded as immoral laws, and the traffic in liquors as a sin against God and a crime against man. For more than twenty years past the effort has been to have this conviction reflected from the statute-book by the enactment of laws forbidding the drink-trade. In proof, witness the hearty, decided, and repeated action of the religious bodies of the land, declaring against the license laws as the efficient cause of intemperance. Witness the National and State Conventions, drawn from the body of the people, repeating through years opposition to such laws, without one single national or State assemblage representing the people sustaining the license policy. Witness the vote against license in many, if not in a majority, of the States of the Union, in many instances repeated whenever the people have had the legal opportunity to declare their convictions. Witness the constant efforts of the liquor interest to prevent the passage of laws allowing the people to vote upon the question of license or prohibition. Witness the combinations made and money expended to defy prohibitory and local-option laws, and, by alliance with party politicians, to secure their emasculation or entire repeal, without submission of such change or repeal to the

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direct vote of the people. Witness the Brewers' Congresses and Liquor-Dealers' Leagues, exerting the power of combination, money, and evil purpose, to secure party platforms and party nominations, first State and now national, by influences and pledges concealed from the people. Witness the sixteenth resolution of the Republican party national platform at Philadelphia in 1872, with the explanation by its author, Mr. Rastor, "that it was adopted by the platform committee with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance (prohibition) and Sunday laws." This declaration remains the faith and policy of the Republican party, unchanged in 1876, at Cincinnati, as is manifest by the satisfaction and endorsement of the German brewing element of that party. Witness the action of the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in their declaration about "liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws." Witness the further and crowning evidence of party complicity with the liquor-trade, in the fact that neither of the candidates of the Republican or Democratic parties has said, or can be induced to say, publicly and plainly, that he is in favor of prohibitory liquor-laws, and if elected will use his official influence for their enactment and enforcement.

Prohibition and independent party action is

V. THE LOGICAL RESULT OF ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES

of the temperance reform. So early in the temperance movement as 1823, Henry Ware, in his address on the "Criminality of Intemperance," delivered at the eleventh anniversary of the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, said "*that there is no man, or body of men, who can strike at the root of the evil but the Legislature of the nation.*" Dr. Lyman Beecher, in his justly-celebrated six sermons on "The Nature and Remedy for Intemperance," delivered in 1826, says: "Intemperance in our land is not accidental; it is rolling in upon us by the violation of some great laws of human nature. In our views and in our practice as a nation, there is something

fundamentally wrong ; and the remedy, like the evil, must be found in the correct application of general principles. It must be a universal and national remedy. What, then, is this universal, natural, and national remedy for intemperance ? *It is the banishment of ardent spirits from the list of lawful articles of commerce* by a correct and efficient public sentiment, such as has turned slavery out of half our land, and will yet expel it from the world."

Dr. Justin Edwards, in his sixth report of the American Temperance Society, on the "Immorality of License Laws," said in 1833 : "The point to be decided—to be decided by legislatures of these United States ; to be decided for all coming posterity, for the world, and for eternity—is, *Shall the sale of ardent spirit, as a drink, be treated in legislation as a virtue or a vice?* Shall it be licensed, sanctioned by law, and perpetuated, to roll its all-pervading curses onward interminably, *or shall it be treated, as it is in truth, a sin?*"

Quotations could be multiplied showing that as soon as the moral bearings of the traffic in drinks, in producing and sustaining intemperance, were perceived, its suppression was demanded as one of the natural and efficient remedies.

VI. THE RESOLVES OF OUR NATIONAL TEMPERANCE CONVENTIONS.

The conclusions of the eight general National Temperance Conventions mark distinctly the logical progress of temperance thought, and the necessity for a Prohibition party to educate the popular mind, and to unite efforts for the obtaining and execution of prohibitory enactments.

The first National Convention, held in 1833, declared : "The traffic in ardent spirit as a drink, and the use of it as such, are morally wrong, and ought to be abandoned throughout the world."

The second Convention, held in 1836, declared in favor of "abstinence from the use, as a beverage, of intoxicating liquor, and from the making and furnishing of it to be so used by others."

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The third Convention, held in 1841, declared, "that the tendency of all intoxicating drinks to derange the bodily functions," etc., etc., "impose upon all men a solemn moral obligation to cease for ever from their manufacture, sale, and use as a beverage," etc. ; and also "that it is the business of legislation to protect the community against existing evils, and should never be found sanctioning vice. . . . The licensing of men to sell intoxicating drinks should nowhere be known in the civilized world, but should be universally abandoned."

The fourth Convention, held in 1851, declared "that the evils of intemperance cannot be prevented while the traffic in intoxicating liquors, to be used as a beverage, is continued ; and that it is the right and duty of the people in self-defence, by legislation and other suitable means, to bring such traffic to an end."

The fifth Convention, held in 1865, reaffirmed all the foregoing principles.

The sixth Convention, held in 1868, declared that—

" *Whereas*, the liquor-dealers of our country have declared the traffic in intoxicating drinks to be a legitimate part of American commerce, and deny the right to prohibit or restrict the same, and, through their Leagues and Congresses, have repeatedly avowed their purpose to vote for no man in favor of total abstinence, and have constantly used their political power for the continuance of their trade, and have in the past received the countenance of political parties in support of the positions thus assumed ; therefore,

" *Resolved*, That in behalf of the public peace and welfare, we accept the issue, and will meet them at the polls in resistance of these iniquitous demands.

" *Resolved*, That temperance, having its political as well as moral aspects and duties, demands the persistent use of the ballot for its promotion, . . . and we exhort the friends of temperance by every practical method, in their several localities, to secure righteous political action for the advancement of the cause."

The seventh Convention, in 1873, declared "*that the time has arrived fully to introduce the temperance issue into State and national politics ; that we recommend all friends of temperance to make it henceforth the paramount issue, to co-operate with existing party organizations where*

such will endorse the legislative policy of prohibition and nominate candidates pledged to its support ; otherwise to organize and maintain separate, independent party action in every State, and in each Congressional and electoral district of the United States."

The eighth and latest general National Convention, held in 1875, resolved "*that we recommend all citizens to take the temperance issue, 'without concealment, without compromise,' to the polls ; to nominate and vote for such candidates only, State and national, as will unqualifiedly endorse and sustain the prohibition of the liquor-traffic ; that whenever suitable nominations are not otherwise made, independent prohibition candidates be nominated for the suffrages of all temperance citizens ; and that the Prohibition party should have the undivided support of all temperance voters in each State and Territory where, in their judgment, such political action is the best method of securing the enactment and enforcement of efficient prohibitory laws."*

Thus it will be seen that the temperance people, as the result of investigation into the nature and effects of intoxicating drinks, in 1833, announced the fundamental principle that the manufacture and use of such drinks was immoral ; in 1836, that the true rule of personal temperance was total abstinence ; hence, in 1841, held the duty of Government to be to protect against "public evils," not to license the occasion of them ; and in 1851, that the traffic in liquors as a beverage should be forbidden, and the liquors exposed to sale destroyed ; in 1868, that they would meet at the polls those who denied the right and duty to prohibit and were using political power to sustain themselves, and further declared and enjoined the use of the ballot for the promotion of temperance ; and in 1873, that temperance should be made the "paramount issue," and, when existing parties failed to endorse prohibition and to nominate men pledged to its support, to make independent nominations ; and in 1875, that the Prohibition party "should have the undivided support of all temperance voters in each State and Territory where such political action is the best method of

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securing the enactment and enforcement of efficient prohibitory laws."

The existing parties have not endorsed prohibition nor nominated men pledged to its support; therefore, in the judgment of temperance men represented by the last and preceding National Conventions, the necessity for an independent Prohibition party has arisen.

VII. THIS NECESSITY IS FURTHER DEMONSTRATED

by the fact that in 1869 a special National Convention assembled in Chicago, under a distinct call and expressed purpose to organize a Prohibition party, and, as the result of two days' deliberation, did organize the National Prohibition party, published its platform and address to the country, and in 1872 nominated its candidates for President and Vice-President, for whom votes in nine States of the Union were cast; and again in May of this year (1876), through a convention of representatives from twelve States, has a second time announced its platform, and named General Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, as its candidate for President, and Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

The Prohibition Reform party is organized in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Kentucky, New Jersey, and calls for the same purpose have been issued in other States. This movement is further proof that a political party organization is felt to be a necessity for sustaining the political aspect of the temperance question.

VIII. THE INSTABILITY OF ANTI-LICENSE VOTES

and popular votes for prohibitory laws heretofore obtained demonstrates the necessity of a Prohibition party to maintain, by a trained constituency, success obtained, and the execution of law against unscrupulous, organized liquor-dealers.

In April, 1838, Massachusetts, by a majority of more than two-thirds of each branch of her Legislature, prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors in less quantity than

fifteen gallons. Tennessee, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire in 1839, and the same year Mississippi and Illinois, adopted similar prohibitory or optional laws, confirmed by popular votes. In 1844, in Connecticut, temperance commissioners were elected in two hundred out of two hundred and twenty towns. In 1845, four-fifths of the cities and towns of New York voted against license by majorities aggregating 45,478, and yet the anti-license law was repealed by a succeeding Legislature the year following. Vermont and Michigan voted against license in a majority of the towns. In Pennsylvania, in 1846, eighteen counties voted against license, and in 1855, as the result of the popular vote, the retail drink-trade was prohibited ; and in 1873, in the same State, two-thirds of the counties, embracing two-thirds of the area of the State, under a local-option law, voted no license ; and still, in each instance, these laws were changed or repealed against the popular will. In Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota the popular vote was also against license. The prohibitory enactments in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Minnesota, passed from 1851 to 1855, and succeeding the gallon and option laws of 1838 to 1847, through the machinations of party and for party purposes, have been repealed or emasculated. In no instance by the direct vote of the people, but against their will, has repeal of these laws been accomplished. The cause for this defiance of the popular will is found in the fact *that the popular majority was not organized into constituencies to reward faithfulness or punish treachery.* Political organization for securing and maintaining a right political policy in the liquor question is the demand of sad experience in the temperance reform. The experience of the past points unerringly to the duty of the present.

IX. PROHIBITION IS STATE POLITY, AND THEREFORE A
POLITICAL MEASURE,

demanding for its support the same agencies which experience has shown to be necessary for the overthrow of an old policy and the establishment of a change in governmental

action. The state is governed by and through party, which conducts its affairs, makes and executes the laws which reflect the policy or theory of government held by such party. Where and when existing parties wholly ignore or oppose a policy believed to be essential to the happiness and prosperity of the people, wisdom demands that those favoring the change shall unite and labor for the triumph of their measure. It is not the province of churches or moral reform societies to enact laws, nor by concert to exert a direct influence upon party to secure their enactment. To expect efficient legislation against so powerful an interest as is the liquor-trade, without the aid of a political party, is to hope for results without using adequate means. Our political history clearly shows that every new great issue called forth a new great political party for its support. The old Whig and Democratic parties (the most recent instance) being unable to satisfactorily deal with the slave system, because divided upon it, the issue of freedom against slavery gave birth to the Republican party. So now the Democratic and Republican parties, having members holding diverse views on the liquor question, are impotent for its solution; and the demand for protection from the evils of the drink-trade has called into being the Prohibition Reform party.

X. THE OLD PARTIES UNABLE TO GIVE PROHIBITION.

The Democratic and Republican parties, having been organized for other purposes, are divided on the liquor question, each having members who favor and others who oppose liquor suppression, and hence neither can take decided steps in that direction. Hence, also, the varied attempts at compromise and conciliation by fair promises and half-way measures ineffectual to cure so radical an evil as is the liquor-trade. These antagonizing elements cannot be harmonized, for there is no middle ground for compromise. License and prohibition are the antipodes of each other. The liquor interest, having no moral sentiment nor other basis than pure selfishness, by the organization of Leagues, Sons of Liberty, Beer Con-

gresses, etc., has by its manipulation of parties been enabled to maintain itself in the face of an *unorganized* anti-*rum* sentiment. So long as the party which governs the State or nation can be controlled, their business is safe. Precisely in the same way the great, selfish, organized slave-power lorded it over the politics of the nation. When the friends of freedom learned the secret of separation from the old parties, unwilling and impotent to aid them, and organized as the Liberty party, Free-Soil party, and finally merged and formed the Republican party, was the slave supremacy broken.

XI. WORKING WITHIN THE OLD PARTIES A FOLLY.

In addition to the considerations in the last point, experience has demonstrated that in very rare cases have candidates for public office, representing a principle or policy not embraced in the platform of their party, been successful in securing an election. No matter how large may be the party majority in the district, the opposing party will invariably vote for its own candidate and against him, and will be joined by the opponents of the special principle he represents, and thus defeat him, or run him behind his ticket and lessen his political influence. This has again and again been illustrated in the cases of well-known prohibitionists being nominated by the old political parties, even in cases when the party nominating is the predominant one—the *rum* men of the candidate's own party will desert, and the temperance men of the opposing party adhere to their party organization.

Again and again have the friends of temperance been disappointed in the after-action of party men elected to place by them upon promises made, etc. It has been found that the claims of party, the remonstrances of the leaders, the seductions presented, have overcome professed fidelity to principle. The history of temperance legislation is strewn with the wreck of broken promises and unrealized hopes from parties not committed by platform and party policy.

The effort to elect men to office in the old Whig party

who were opposed to slavery resulted in nothing practical against slavery, because that party, made up of pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, was not committed to a policy hostile to the slave-power. It was not until the anti-slavery element separated from the Whig and Democratic parties, and made the issue of freedom and slavery distinct, that any substantial progress was made. Slowly but gradually the sympathizers from the old organizations united, and, instead of fighting each other, moved in solid force against the enemy and on to final victory. So will it be in the prohibition movement. There are at the present moment many good temperance people in both the Republican and Democratic parties, but let each ask what real influence or power they have exerted or can exert in shaping the action of their respective parties. The only possible result has been and must be to divide the vote between two candidates instead of uniting upon one. As long as temperance voters adhere to and vote with either of the license parties, all influence in educating the public mind in favor of temperance legislation must be wholly lost. How sad it is to be reproached as we now are with the allegation made by opponents that temperance men are hypocrites talking and praying one way, but for practical purposes acting the opposite! If found in league with license parties at the polls, it is folly and a shame to pretend to preach prohibition from the rostrum or in the Sabbath-school or church assembly; practice will be the true expositor.

XII. A PROHIBITION PARTY

will obviate difficulties like the foregoing, and the paralyzing influences which such association begets. It will separate the true, sincere prohibitionists from the cowardly or hypocritical demagogues who have always proved a great hindrance to the temperance reform. All who love party, purse, or office more than prohibition of the iniquitous rum-trade will no longer be heard or their malarious influence felt.

We shall present a test of Christian character and consistency which could not heretofore be applied. Christian

men have heretofore been compelled to vote for liquor or not vote at all. A distinct party organization will place every Christian where his franchise will become a matter of conscience; where he must either vote for the traffic by sustaining nominees favorable to the drunkenness, cursing, desecration of the Sabbath, misery in the home, crime, and poverty which inevitably flow from it, or vote against it by supporting candidates publicly nominated and pledged to its entire overthrow.

A distinct party will put an end to all those compromise laws which have been a heavy burden to the temperance cause. To conciliate, the old parties have given us so-called temperance laws, but only such as have been permitted by the liquor-men; and when the traffic continues, dead-letter and failure is the hypocritical cry.

An independent party will control those precincts, counties, etc., *where the temperance sentiment is in majority; executing present laws, securing better, and gradually extending its influence until States and the National Government shall be in its hands*, when, under God, the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic poisons for drinking purposes will be effectually suppressed.

It will unify temperance effort, and make the temperance sentiment, which is preponderatingly the moral and religious sentiment of the country, successful in governing the country; and bring about the fulfilment of the Scripture, which says: "When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn."

XIII. WHAT HAVE THE PARTIES DONE FOR PROHIBITION?

Although prohibitory laws were passed in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and laws allowing the people to vote upon the question of license or no license in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, when the Democratic party was in power in these States, and prior to 1855, *no one now claims that this party*

would now favor such laws. The action of the National Convention of this party at St. Louis, in relation to "individual conduct unvexed by sumptuary laws," is understood to be their open declaration of hostility to legislative restriction of the traffic, and to be a declaration of party policy similar to that of the Republicans. Thus the Democratic party has no place for a prohibitionist.

Is there more hope from the Republican party?

Some of its members claim that it is *the* temperance party, for the reason that it contains, as they allege, more of the moral, religious, and educated element of the country than the other. Other proofs than this they give not. Gladly would they be produced, if the party history furnished any. What is the history of the Republican party on prohibition?

1. Not a single original prohibitory law has been enacted for any State, District, or Territory by this party since it obtained the administration of the government of the nation in 1860, nor in any State controlled by it before or since. Restoration of such laws, in two or three instances, has been done, as will be found upon examination, in obedience to popular will, and not as a party act nor as part of party policy.

2. It has repealed the prohibitory laws in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Michigan, and the local-option law of Pennsylvania, and thus carried five States to the rum side; and in each case without submission of the question of retention or repeal to the direct vote of the people.

3. During its full control of the National Government several new States have been admitted to the Union, under constitutions approved by Congress, every one of which has been permitted to come in under license rule without opposition.

4. Several Territories have been organized under a system of government provided by Congress, in not one of which has the rum-trade been prohibited.

5. During its entire history this party has controlled and legislated for the District of Columbia, during all of

which time the nation has been dishonored and Christianity put to shame by the licensed traffic in that District.

6. During its entire history it has permitted the importation of liquors.

7. It is the first party in the history of the United States to array itself in opposition to "temperance (prohibition) and Sunday laws," by formally declaring in its national platform, adopted in June, 1872, in its sixteenth resolution, against such laws, which says:

"The Republican party propose to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with the rights not surrendered by the people to either State or National Government."

The language employed would not in all probability be used by an American, for the ideas are not American. What American has ever proposed a resort to "unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils" either moral or political? A distinguishing feature of American character is acquiescence in majorities legally ascertained, and the construction of laws by our courts. The ideas are German, and the expressions are German, as every one knows who has paid attention to the tirades and legal nonsense contained in the resolutions of assemblages of German citizens against Sabbath and temperance laws. The Supreme Court of the United States and the Superior Courts of every State, called to pass upon such laws, have declared prohibition of the liquor-traffic to be in harmony with the Constitution, and yet the beer-brewers constantly affirm all laws restricting their trade unconstitutional. The author of this resolution was Mr. Herman Rastor, the editor of a leading German Republican journal of Chicago, and a member of the platform committee of the 1872 National Republican Convention. He declares, without contradiction, that "*it was adopted by the platform committee, with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called tem-*

perance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws. This purpose was meant to be expressed by reference to those rights of the people which had not been delegated to either National or State governments, it being assumed that the right to drink what one pleases (being responsible for acts committed under the influence of strong drink), and the right to look upon the day in which Christians have their prayer-meetings as any other day, were among the rights not delegated by the people, but reserved to themselves."

This explanation of the intent of this sixteenth plank has never been denied by any officer of the Convention or any member of the Platform Committee. The Republican State Convention of Illinois in the same year adopted the same plank in almost identical language. The *Press* (Forney's) of July 25, 1872, after saying Mr. Rastor was a member of the Committee, and quoting his explanation, says: "The gentlemen who support Mr. Greeley have been putting all manner of constructions upon this resolution, and can now make the most of it; but we opine that it is a two-edged tool, which, like such orators as Petroleum Nasby, they will have to be careful in handling." The Republican press feared the loss of the German vote, should they not accept their leader's interpretation in all its latitude and entirety, and hence our American views and feelings on these two vital questions of temperance and the Sabbath—God and public welfare—to retain political power, must be sacrificed to the foreign free-thinking, infidel voter.

8. It also affirmed in its platform of June, 1872, that liquors are a legitimate object for public revenue, and has devised a system for the manufacture and sale of such liquors. In addition to this disgraceful history, its public journals show the party thought and conscience.

Harper's Weekly in 1875 said: "The Republican party is not a prohibition party. As the best sentiment of the country agrees that the subject shall be legislatively treated by authorizing a license system, the Republicans would make that system as just and efficient as practicable. Further than this as a national party it will not go, and the

attempt to buy the prohibition support by adopting a prohibition platform could end only in the destruction of the party. This is perfectly well understood by the bulk of Republicans, and they will act accordingly." And again: "Unless the Republican party is ready to announce its own death, it cannot consent to legislate adversely to the interests of this class of people" (that is, the friends of the liquor-traffic).

The *New York Times* said: "None of the probable candidates are likely to be in favor of prohibitory laws. The temperance societies could not possibly get an out-and-out temperance man nominated. They know this as well as we do."

The *Chicago Tribune* says: "Prohibition must be prohibited by the Republican party."

XIV. THE FAILURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican party has had free control of the General Government for the last fifteen years, and also of most of the States for a longer period, with large voting majorities, and consequently has had the fullest opportunity of demonstrating the party will in opposition to the policy of license. When we find during its history no declaration, by platform or enactment, of an original prohibitory statute in a single State, District, or Territory, but a repeal of existing laws in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan, and the local-option law of Pennsylvania, since its platform declaration of 1872 against "temperance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws," the conclusion is irresistible that this party has chosen the license side of this liquor question, and will not enact efficient laws against a traffic acknowledged to be more pregnant of evil to public welfare than all others afflicting the nation.

When it is considered that it is claimed, and perhaps generally conceded, that the Republican party embraces the larger portion of the native-born, educated, religious, and temperance people of the country, the facts above presented prove two things:

1. That the claim so frequently advanced that this party

is the party of temperance is dissembling the truth, and is, in fact, without foundation ; and, 2, how utterly important this temperance and religious element of the party has been to control or induce prohibitory action within party lines.

If, with no declared party opposition to prohibition prior to 1872, with the people moved for the correction of the evils of intemperance to a degree far greater than at any period since 1864, the Republican party was not led to declare against the drink-trade, what preposterous folly and delusion it is to expect that, since it has deliberately declared against temperance and Sunday laws, with friends of the liquor interest filling the high and low places of power from President down, it will or can change its policy ! The Republican party, because containing the moral and reformatory elements which gave it birth and strength, and because of its history against another giant wrong, stands to-day, in the opinion of many devoted prohibitionists, the chief barrier to the prohibition policy.

The Republican and Democratic parties having deliberately chosen the side of license, there is no alternative left for those who realize the immoral and impolitic character of license law but to separate and sustain the Prohibition Reform party for the establishing of a more righteous and wiser policy.

XV. REFORM OF POLITICAL ABUSES

cannot be thorough or continued until the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks are forbidden by law, executed by a party whose officials, from conviction and interest, are on the side of the law. The drink and drink-places are the sources of individual debasement and seduction, leading to the defalcations and malfeasances in office which is so reproachful to us as a nation. Drink, and money contributed by the drink-trade, are potent instruments of political and legislative corruption, sapping our institutions, and making government by the people a disappointment. We may change rulers through party changes, but corruption will continue until the cause is reached in

making the drink issue a settled feature of administration. The Democratic and Republican parties have now no issue of moment in controversy between them. There is a substantial agreement and sameness in their platforms, and hence the coming canvass, as was the last, will be conducted on the bitter hates and memories of the past. These parties have struck hands in agreement and support of the licensed trade in liquors in spite of the bitter fruit of two hundred years of this policy. Their position is quite analogous to that of the Democratic and Whig parties in 1852, when they each declared the fugitive-slave law "a finality," and became defenders and apologists of the wicked slave system. God and public necessity will now, as then, raise up a new party who shall grapple with the drink system, and secure the reform which our prostrated commerce, agricultural, manufacturing, and labor interests so imperatively demand. Reform in politics and government can only be secured through a new and triumphant Prohibition party.

XVI. THE RESTORATION OF THE UNION

of the people, North and South, demands a new national party with a new national issue. We have a union of States through the might of arms, but a restoration of confidence, mutual interest, and good will has not been secured. There is a feeling of having been wronged, and an animosity toward the people of the North, on the part of the South, with suspicion, mistrust, and lack of confidence in the sincerity and patriotism of the people of the South on the part of the North. It is the supposed interest of partisan politicians and a partisan press to keep this feeling alive, and every utterance and occurrence in either section is caught up and magnified to inflame the public mind. The great body of one of the old parties being in the North and the other in the South, intense sectionalism is resorted to by both in order to secure a party triumph. Truth, peace, union, and harmony are sacrificed in the struggle. Eleven years after the strife of arms has ceased the bitterness engendered by the contest has but slightly abated. Should present parties continue, this condition will be prolonged. Neither can

secure peace and reconciliation, for each by name were the combatants in the struggle, and amity and cordial relations cannot be had while either wields the power of government.

A *new* national party with a *true* national political issue, affecting and interesting alike every State, county, town, city, and family, is required to divert thought, allay animosities, and bury old antagonisms. The drink-curse fostered by law is such an issue. Its poisonous breath endangering every family, community, school, and church, and blasting their moral, industrial, and financial interests, destroying their brightest and best members, presents a political issue rising far higher than ordinary party strifes, calling upon the deepest affections of our nature with appeals to our manhood, personal and family security, and patriotism for the exercise of the powers of the national and State governments for its annihilation.

Patriotism, peace, reconciliation between North and South proclaims the necessity for the Prohibition party.

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